Foreword

THE IDEA of the Arctic Ocean as a mediterranean sea is a shock to those of us—and that includes about all of us—who cannot shake ourselves free of the Mercatorean vision. Yet this theme is repeated by many eminent contributors to this volume. “It is difficult to impress upon the public and industry at large,” says Mr. Michael Marsden, “that the most essential quality of the Arctic is not cold, or gold, or polar bears, but a central position in the world community.” This is essentially the theme of this study. It is not a book about the Canadian North; it is about our North as a frontier and our relations with the world beyond that frontier. It is about the Arctic community of which we are one of the major members, along with the Soviet Union, the United States (Alaska), Denmark (Greenland), Iceland, and Norway. If the Arctic community is not bound together by the common philosophy of the Atlantic community, it is at least bound together by common interest and perhaps common fear. The technological revolution is bringing our community to more vigorous life.

This book is an exercise in perspective. As Mr. Rowley points out, “. . . the terms east and west lose their normal significance at the North Pole.” Canadians have always looked eastward across their Atlantic frontier and thought much of the implications of this orientation on their foreign relations. Increasingly they have recognized the significance of the Pacific frontier linking them with Japan and the Far East. As for the Southern frontier, their preoccupation is obsessive. It is time, however, that we recognized fully that we are not a three-sided country. Both the hot and cold wars of the past quarter century have roused our consciousness of the strategic importance of the northern frontier, and it has become a commonplace to describe Canada as a kind of Belgium between the Soviet Union and the United States. However, the substitution of intercontinental ballistic missiles for aircraft may diminish the strategic significance of our North—although it is unlikely ever to revert in our minds to the position of an impenetrable barrier we can

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comfortably ignore. This book by no means neglects the military importance of the Arctic, but it endeavours to widen the scope of our interest.

Finally, this volume is not just another one of those tiresome arguments about the surpassing importance of the Arctic—the Stefansson syndrome. It deflates as well as inflates. Its purpose is to assess as precisely as possible the implications of the Arctic frontier, not to induce either visions or nightmares. It is intended not only for Canadians but also for others interested in the polar regions or in the shape of the world at large.

The appearance of this volume marks the conclusion of three happy years' collaboration between the Arctic Institute of North America and the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, made possible by a generous grant from the Ford Foundation. The Foundation's grant to the CIIA was designed to stimulate research and policy studies on, among other things, strategic questions and Atlantic relations. Our interest in contributing a unique perspective to international issues, a view from the Northwest on the Atlantic, led us to explore this joint project with the eminently authoritative Arctic Institute. Without their knowledge of the field and its experts, a work of scholarship would not have been possible. Under the joint sponsorship of the two institutes a number of distinguished individuals were invited to a planning session in Montreal in February, 1963, under the chairmanship of Mr. C. M. Drury, at that time Chairman of the Montreal Branch of the CIIA and a former Governor of the AINA, now Minister of Industry in Ottawa. Others who took part were: Mr. George V. Ferguson, Editor-in-Chief, *Montreal Star*; Mr. W. M. Gilchrist, President, Eldorado Mining & Refining Limited; Mr. John W. Holmes, Director General, CIIA; Dr. Trevor Lloyd, Chairman, Department of Geography, McGill University; Mr. M. Marsden, Director, Montreal Office, AINA (now Assistant Professor, Department of Geography, Sir George Williams University); Mr. G. R. Parkin, Assistant to the Executive Director, AINA (now Co-ordinator, Development and Extension, AINA); Dr. John C. Reed, Executive Director, AINA; Mr. Gordon Robertson, Deputy Minister, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (now Secretary to the Cabinet); Commodore O. C. S. Robertson, Governor, AINA (now Head, Theme Exhibits Co-ordination, Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition); Gordon Smith, formerly Professor of History, College Militaire Royal de St. Jean, P.Q. (now Lecturer in History, University of the West Indies, Trinidad); Dr. O. M. Solandt, Vice President, Research and Development, Canadian National Rail-

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ways (Governor, AINA, now Vice President, Research and Development, de Havilland Aircraft of Canada); and Professor Dale Thomson, Department of Political Science, Université de Montreal.

Both institutes are deeply indebted to the busy men who gave us the benefit of their wide and varied experience in defining our intentions and working out the pattern of the study. We should particularly like to thank the Department of Northern Affairs, its Deputy Ministers, Mr. Gordon Robertson and subsequently Mr. Ernest Côté, for their guidance and encouragement and for the indispensable collaboration of their staff. Needless to say, neither the Department nor the government of Canada is responsible for any of the many and varied opinions expressed by the authors. None of those who attended the planning session is responsible either. It was our policy to select as authors the best authorities we could find and not to impose on them any pattern of thought whatsoever.

We were extraordinarily fortunate in persuading Professor Ronald St. John Macdonald of the Faculty of Law of the University of Toronto to assume the responsibilities of editor. His qualities of scholarship, his editorial experience, his capacity for swift and thorough work, and above all, perhaps, his tact and good nature have made him an admirable moulder of a project which it was never easy to keep disciplined. Working with him has been a great pleasure.

To write the book we have had the services of the most respected authorities in their fields and we are grateful to them for their willingness to contribute. We sought not only a compendium of information but also a spectrum of opinion. Inevitably there have been some overlapping of subject matter and some contradiction of opinion. We have made no effort to eliminate them. This is an experimental study, intended to open up an important subject for discussion rather than say the final word on it.

On behalf of the CIIA I should like to thank the Executive Director and staff of the Arctic Institute of North America for their unstinted co-operation, and in particular I wish to thank Mr. G. R. Parkin. If it had not been for Mr. Parkin's enthusiasm and imagination and his lifelong interest in the work of both institutes, the project would never have been conceived.

JOHN W. HOLMES

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Canadian Institute of International Affairs

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